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not emphasized this particular source of physical satisfaction. Of sixteen women who were asked directly, fifteen did say that they preferred having children to intercourse, but almost invariably they added, "Because my children will give my funeral feasts." There were several women who said they did not want any more children, because feeding them meant so much work. Economic habits, therefore, react directly upon behavior and attitudes of mothers.

518 At night the child shares a mat with its mother. It sleeps alone with
519 her until the father resumes intercourse with his wife. This is supposedly when the child is old enough to sit up alone or even to crawl about. It may be significant that no effort is made to hasten the child's development in these respects. It should be noted that the baby is not necessarily displaced when its parents resume intercourse. It may still
520 be kept on the same mat. In fact, rather scandalized gossip had it that the death of one child was due to its being crushed accidentally by its parents during sex relations. In addition, if the father has more than one wife he may spend at least half his nights in another household, and then the child sleeps undisturbed with its mother. If the parents do not permit the child to share the sleeping mat with them, the infant is placed with some other adult or an older sibling on a sleeping mat in the common living room.

521 The time at which a man resumes intercourse with his wife after childbirth varies greatly. So far only the time recognized in formal statements has been mentioned. In sex histories given by women it became apparent that men might resume relationships with their wives much sooner and much later, depending on other sex adjustments open to the man. It is true that women, particularly when burdened with large families, sometimes reproach their husbands for undue haste in this respect. Again we have a reflection of economic pressure upon sex
522 attitudes. Since there is a very clear idea of the connection between the sexual act and childbearing, and since each additional child places extra subsistence burdens on the woman, there is ample reason for her to develop reluctance after a time toward both intercourse and childbearing. This attitude of reluctance, although far from consistent, is evident in ways that will be referred to later, when sex practices are discussed in more detail.

INFANT'S EARLY TRAINING

523 So far in discussing the infancy period, we have been concerned with
524 the role of the mother and father, the feeding of the infant, and its experiences in bodily contacts and support. The early sex experiences

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tim. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to be modal.

One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Mainlaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and cowries," so that continence is not required of their husbands to ensure success in financial transactions.

On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Ataman, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

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814 women gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolata gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

837 In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to 837 839 have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period [841] of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

733 A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. 684 During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

851 Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

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are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her *friend*, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fanam the Interpreter alone for such material.

"Pahkafeli was married to Falongmau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The mandur held Falongmau. Pahkafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lapada (who was subject to attacks of hypersexitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or bites him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

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159 said, "We are dyeing our teeth here, so you had better come tonight
652 and join in." I said, "If it is near the time to pay off I can't come [i.e., it is too late to join the group]." But she said, "No, there are still five or six days." So that evening I went up there. She already had my strip of dye ready for me. That night a friend and I slept alongside each other. The girl was sleeping on the bench between the floor and the thatch. In the middle of the night I wanted to turn over but couldn't because someone was pressed close against me. I felt on one side of me and felt the rough skin of my friend, who had a skin disease. Then I felt on the other side and touched this girl's breast. She had come over to lie down on the other side of me. She put her arms around my waist. I said, "Don't hug me. My grandparents said me that if I slept with a girl my large crotin would become small and disappear. You can sleep here, but we can't have intercourse. You go back to your village. When you hear the mokos being beaten on Mt. Laling, it will be I, and you can come for the moko." Her aunt was awakened by the sound of my voice, and Fakengmating lay quietly after that. At dawn when we went out, she took a stick and beat my back until blood flowed.

159 I went away to dun for mokos. A man came and told me that while I was away the chief of Kanaipe had caught [i.e., married] Fakengmating. I said, "Good. He has gongs and mokos; he can pay for her. When there is *corvée* to be done, she can cook for a chief. He is my kinsman, and when I go there she can cook for me." [Women with whom a man had had intercourse were ashamed to cook for the man should he later be a guest. Also, the man was ashamed to be a guest in that household.] Then the man said, "This woman said that you were going to pay gongs and mokos for her." I said, "Yes, that is true. I am dunning for them now. But since she has married my kinsman, she can still cook for me." This woman is still living in Kanaipe and she has cooked for me.

May 12, 1939

Last night I dreamed that people called, "Today the earthquake comes. Don't go anywhere. Stay in the village. When the earthquake comes, people must not be on steep ground. Remember the earthquake." I awoke, and later I slept again. I dreamed there were a great many people at the government camp—the officials, the tunukun, the chiefs, and all their people. The officials beat them. The tree that fell across the kitchen buildings during the storm was picked up in one piece and thrown away. All the people were running here and